RESOLUTIONS

Resolution No. 2

Graded Subsidy to actual Growers of Paddy *(contd.)*

***Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan** *(Vadakkancheri)*: I feel honoured that for the proposition that I placed before this House last evening Government had been pleased to select as the spokesman the proper person.

It is proper in the sense that the proposition being one which relates to cultivators of land, the spokesman who happens to be the highest paid officer of the Government of Cochin in the matter of keeping the land is the expert the Hon'ble Member for Land Revenue. But I must confess, Sir, on a detailed analysis on the disquisition that was conducted upon the arguments advanced by this House in recommending the position to their acceptance running to full 25 minutes that a feeling of disappointment alone has been created on the Hon'ble Members on this side of the House. I am sorry I have to make that observation.

The points raised by the Hon'ble Member for Revenue were to start with a wrong assumption as the basis of my proposition. It was stated, Sir, in the beginning by the Hon'ble Member for Revenue who opposed my proposition was that the surplus of the yield after deducting cultivation charge is not sufficient to give an inducement to the cultivator for producing more. That is a proposition, Sir, that no member who spoke from this side ever made. It was a case definitely put forward that under the present day circumstances that Rs. 1—6—0 for one para of paddy is not sufficient even to meet the expenses of cultivation. That was a definite proposition stressed repeatedly and it was deliberately construed I must say Sir that the return from the surplus is not sufficient to give inducement. Having started with such wrong assumption as the basis of the proposition he went on to analyse the things. He began to deal with the process of cultivation. First he said that the first charge of the cultivation is the yield. Then he went to the cost of cultivation. Under that replanting, removing. I do not know what that process of replanting is. For these two items, according to the Hon'ble Member for Revenue no consideration need be given inasmuch as valli charges are allowed to be retained by the cultivator in the process of commandeering of paddy.,

But he lost sight of one factor, Sir, that for removing the grass the cost is much more than before and for planting also it is equally so, and the valli allowed to him is not the quantity that is required for all the expenses in that behalf. We have got one rate for one set of cultivators in one area, another rate in another area and a third rate in a third area. I have been asking repeatedly in this House whether.....

Rao Sahib M. M. Paul *(Director of Food Supplies)*: That depends upon the custom prevailing in each area.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri)*: When you refer to custom, Sir, I am reminded of the Malayalam word കാള്ളം, that is all. Therefore, he disposed it off saying that that is not good.

The next point is about ploughing cattle. In this connection I would say that revelations had been made from the other side, that ploughing cattle, all the stock that existed in effect remains. He says that deaths are off-set by births. This reminds me of another Malayalam saying "ഭാര്യയെ പറഞ്ഞയച്ചു," something which is inconceivable. Then he said after off-setting deaths and births, he conceded again that the number has to be supplemented. He again conceded that there are difficulties for supplementing, because the quota is meagre and therefore cattle have to be dealt with in the black-market. One word about the quota, Sir. The pre-war import originally given by the Government was 20,000 but subsequently it was reduced to 12,000 and the original quota granted was, as against the revised figure of 12,000 previous import 600, since raised to double that number. But in that quota is included milch cows and their calves, two kinds of cattle not used for ploughing purposes. Therefore, you know what the quota is. But though he conceded that there is high cost to be incurred for supplementing, he again off-set it by another purpose. He says, the cattle possessed by one man are not being used for cultivating his lands alone, but they are hired and in the process of hiring nowadays he gets very large quantities of money. But did he look at the other side of the picture, Sir? Only the per-

* Speech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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son who owns the cattle gets the money but the person who takes it on hire has to pay prohibitively in money, and where is that money to be had, except by the sale of paddy to the Government at the rate Rs. 1—6—0. The arguments looks so hollow. I leave it at that.

The other point was feeding charges, easily disposed by showing water and straw. I find an easy explanation for that attitude. Being the Head of the Revenue Department, he is the head of the Cattle Pounds also. The experience in the Cattle Pounds is only to show water and straw—only show. I speak it with the pain of the heart that the matter was dealt with in such a shilly—shally fashion. It is so probably because he is connected with the Cattle Pounds. There was a query from the Hon'ble Member Mr. Poulose, what about oil cakes and cotton seeds necessary for giving to these cattle? The Hon'ble Member for Revenue promissed that he would return to that subject, but the promise was not kept. Not being satisfied with my notes, I compared my notes with the typed copy of the speech made by him. He never returned to that subject. The points stressed by the Hon'ble Member was manure, that manure is the only process necessary in the process of cultivation to get the maximum yield from mother earth, again a fallacious argument. What he says is that the manure purchased from the Government at the present day at prohibitive cost is simply to be taken to a field and simply spread over it, the manure is simply to be thrown there. He loses sight of the fundamental fact of the cultivation that before any kind of manure is introduced and put into any paddy field, the field has to be prepared for the process by ploughing. It is only after that that the sort of manure that you purchase from the Government can be put into the field. That is again another feature deliberately or out of ignorance lost sight of. He was stressing that manure is the only thing necessary for intensive cultivation. Intensive cultivation is of course necessary for getting larger yield. But what about extensive cultivation? Is not a subsidy, an inducement necessary to take under cultivation of lands which hitherto lie fallow. The Hon'ble Revenue Member ought to have considered it and ought to have referred to it and should not have brushed it aside.

Then about the supply of implements, the supply of implements at cheap rates, at cost price. Difficulties of getting the necessary kind of labourers for making implement having been conceded. If this is the position with the Government with their mighty money-bags, what will be the position of the poor agriculturists to get labour when in your over enthusiastic war efforts you have sent all able-bodied, young willing workers either to Ceylon or to Assam, leaving here as labourers to deal with paddy lands only old, unwilling, idle, incapable workers? You have to go to the paddy field to see the real position. The Hon'ble Member for Revenue said he also lives in the State. But he lives on the other side and does not know what happens in the villages, and if he has to go to some villages for inspection work, he goes only as far as the car takes him. You have to see villages, the life of the villagers to understand the miserable condition in which they are placed. Therefore, according to him the present supply of the manure at the rate of 25 percent less the price and the prospective supply with 50 percent less the price will be sufficient, and implements at cost price—that is all what has to be done to the Agriculturists. I am so sorry, Sir, that the Government spokesman spoke like that. And what is it about the cost price of implements? What is it when compared to pre-war days? It must be much higher than the pre-war prices. A word about the sale of manure. It is said while in 1117 the cost of manure sold was Rs. 5,000. It is 1½ lakhs now. It would appear that the increase was due to the extra quantity of manure that was purchased. That may be, that I do concede, but it is because of the propaganda that is done by the Agricultural Department and the greatest factor is that it is due to the highly increased price of manure compared to pre-war days. These elementary things will be forgotten. If it is a case of forgetfulness or of such tricks being played upon this side of the House, it is something which cannot be passed over lightly and I for one cannot do so

Another thing is about the conservatism of the agriculturists.—that intensive cultivation and extensive cultivation being not resorted to is the result of conservatism. The well-known saying in Malayalam followed by the agriculturists who have got the capacity, the money and the leisure to do proper cultivation is "ചപ്പാ വിത്തിനു ചാ ഠ കെട്ട് തോല്പം ചാ ഠ കൊട്ട വളവും വേണം." This is the best manure. There is no manure under the sun equal to it. I know the processes. I am using it and I am benefitted by it. Formerly we were depending upon our forests but due to the present deliberate denudation of our forests, we are experiencing difficulties, insurmountable difficulties, to get green manure, Sir. Formerly we used to get green manure in plenty from our forests, and the forest authorities connived at it; they cannived at our removal

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of the manure and rightly connived at it, but now there is no forest area to which we could go to collect it.

Mr. S. Venkiteswaran *(Conservater of Forests):* You are going to get green manure.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* We very well know how we are supplied with fuel and the same will be the case with manure.

Sir, my statement that the yield from the property is not sufficient to meet the cost of cultivation, in the phraseology of the Hon'ble Member for Revenue, the argument that the cultivators are not able to make both ends meet, is fallacious and he says it is because they resort to the black-market that the cost becomes high. I queried him "Do you concede the existence of black-market?" Then he says he did not exactly concede that, but that he was also living in the country and he knew that the agriculturists were largely resorting to the black-market. When we demand a subsidy to the agriculturist, this is the sort of reply given. I submit, Sir, the argument has a tinge of callousness about it. And then he himself off-sets that argument. He says we know you are dealing with the black-market, well, we are going to increase your ration and that will put a stop to the black-market. He first of all bases his argument on the existence of black-market which throws the blame on a brother-officer and proves it to be fallacious by his own saying that black-market can easily be removed because "we will increase the ration."

I must say that the cost of labour has increased by at least five times now. He was arguing, Sir, that there must be a limit even for exaggeration. To say five times the pre-war rate is the present-day cost of labour is not an exaggeration, nor is it an over-statement. It is really an under-statement. If he had cared to follow my arguments, he could have seen that I said that where in the pre-war days the wages of a labourer able-bodied, willing coming, to the paddy field at 8 o'clock and leaving it at 5 or 6 o'clock, were only 4 annas, whereas not his counter-part but a very weak, old, unwilling, idle sort of worker, because of the process I mentioned earlier, is now available not for as 4, as. 8, Re. 1, but for Rs. 2. If you want to see the genuineness of my argument, I shall prove it. If you had followed my arguments, you would have been convinced that this is not an exaggerated statement.

Then, Sir, it was said that the condition of the cultivator is better than that of the Diwan Peishkar in Cochin State, because the Diwan Peishkar with his fat salary has to go to the ration shop for his ounce of ration, while the poor cultivator gets 3 paras for an individual, and the charge of giving false return of the number of members of house is also attempted to be made. Sir, that is not the sort of people in Cochin State. We are better sort of men. We are honest folk in the villages, though exceptions there might be. They do not know the tricks of urban life. 3 paras of paddy is given to an individual. What is it, Sir? 3 paras works, without making any allowance for conversion charges, because paddy has to be converted into rice, at 2 nazhis of rice per day. Is it too much for an agriculturist, a hard labourer, who has to work in the field from morning to evening unlike the fat salaried officials of the Government of Cochin, who roll about in motor cars although there is ration both on petrol and on tyres. There was a question about it previously. To say that the condition of a cultivator is better than that of the Diwan Peishkar is to ignore fundamental facts. The Hon'ble Member for Revenu was perhaps thinking that every cultivator in Cochin is either a Diwan Peishkar or a white elephant of the Treasury Benches. He is a man helplessly steeped in grinding poverty of an ennervating character, for the removal of which you have not raised yourlittle finger.

It was also said that the price of paddy is now about three-fold what it was before. Originally it was 7 or 8 annas in the pre-war days now it is Rs. 1—6—0, that is, 3 times the previous rate, so that the cultivator gets three times the price that which he used to get before. But what about other things, cost of labour many times more than before, every necessity is now highly costly for example cloth, education of children—we are educating our children because of the facilities for that—cost of books has increased.....

Mr. Deputy President: Mr. Ezhuthassan, you have only 3 minutes more.

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* I shall conclude within time, Sir. All things are costlier than in pre-war days. If the real saviour of the Government, namely the cultivator is not saved and rescued in time, it will be a case of killing the goose that lays the golden eggs. Is the Government going to be so foolish as to be the one that I mentioned. If you do not want to be in that category, please save yourselves.

Every point raised by the Hon'ble Diwan Peishkar according to me is the result of ingorance or indifference, if not of callousness. It would have been better if he got up and said "the Government refuses to be wise, they do oppose the resolution with the vehemence at their

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command, with vehemence that 12 of us can command." That would have looked better. With these words, I press the resolution to a division, Sir, on behalf of the poor and hard-worked agriculturists of the State.

Motion put and carried

Mr. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan *(Vadakkancheri):* A poll, Sir.

The House divided

Ayes

Messrs.
1. Khan Sahib Ismail Haji Essa Sait
2. B. M. Peter
3. K. R. Achuthan
4. C. V. Iyyu
5. Ephraim Ouseph
6. K. T. Achuthan
7. K. S. Panikker
8. Joseph Pettah
9. A. Eachara Menon
10. K. Ashtamurthi Nambudiripad
11. A. V. Moothedan
12. T. A. Ramachandra Ayyar.
13. P. Narayana Menon
14. P. P. Devassy
15. A. B. Salem
16. K. M. Ebrahim
17. P. Kumaran Ezhuthassan
18. T. S. Ramachandra Ayyar
19. C. K. Nayar
20. K. Narayana Menon
21. K. J. Thomas
22. Ramakrishnan (K. R.)
23. P. K. Krishnan

Noes

Messrs.
1. P. V. Raphael
2. Rao Sahib Dr. T. Verghese
3. A. Madhava Prabhu
4. Rama Varmha Tampuran
5. C. J. Mathew
6. B. V. K. Menon
7. M. Sivaraman Menon
8. S. Venkiteswaran
9. Rao Sahib M. M. Paul
10. Khan Sahib Y. Muhammed Roshan Sahib Bahadur

Motion carried, 23 voting for, and 10 against

RCSOLUTION NO. 3

The Depressed classes to be called the Scheduled classes

* മിസ്റ്റർ പി. നാരായണമേനോൻ: "ഇപ്പോൾ അധഃകൃതസമുദായങ്ങൾ എന്ന വ്യവഹരിച്ചുവരുന്ന സമുദായങ്ങളെ മേലിൽ പട്ടികജാതിക്കാർ (Scheduled classes) എന്ന വിളിക്കേണ്ടതാകുന്നു എന്നു് ഈയോഗം ബഹുമാനപ്പെട്ട ഗവൺമെണ്ടിനോടു ശുപാർശചെയ്യുന്നു".

ഈ പ്രമേയം അവതരിപ്പിക്കുന്നതിനു് ഒരു പ്രത്യേക കാരണമുണ്ടു്. സാധുക്കളെ രണ്ടായിട്ടു തരംതിരിക്കാം. അധഃകൃതർ, അധഃസ്ഥിതർ. അധഃകൃതർ എന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ ഏറ്റവും താഴ്ന്നനിലയിൽ ജീവിക്കുന്നവർ എന്നു് അർത്ഥമാണു്. വിദ്യാഭ്യാസത്തിലും ധനസ്ഥിതിയിലും ഏറ്റവും താഴ്ന്നനിലയിൽ ജീവിക്കുന്ന ഏതു മനുഷ്യനേയും അധഃസ്ഥിതൻ എന്നു വിളിക്കാവുന്നതാണു്. നേരെമറിച്ചു അധഃകൃതർ താഴ്ന്ന നിലയിൽ ഉള്ളവനാണെങ്കിലും അവന്റെ താഴ്മക്കു കാരണം മറ്റു ചിലരോ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ മറ്റു ചില ശക്തികളാണെന്നു് ആ പദത്തിന്റെ അർത്ഥത്തിൽനിന്നുതന്നെ വരുന്നുണ്ടു്. അധഃകൃതർ എന്നു പറഞ്ഞാൽ താഴ്ത്തപ്പെട്ടവർ എന്നാണു് അർത്ഥം. എന്തിനെ അല്ലെങ്കിൽ ആരാൽ താഴ്ത്തപ്പെട്ടു എന്നുള്ള ചോദ്യത്തിനു് ഇവിടെ അവകാശമുണ്ടു്. കൊച്ചീരാജ്യത്തു് കരുകാലത്തു് ഇങ്ങിനെ താഴ്ത്തപ്പെട്ട ആളുകൾ ഉണ്ടായിരുന്നുവെന്നു് ചരിത്രം വ്യക്തമാക്കുന്നുണ്ടു്. അങ്ങിനെ താഴ്ത്തപ്പെട്ട ആളുകളെ ഉയർത്തുന്നതിനുവേണ്ടി ഇടക്കാലത്തു ചെയ്യുവന്ന പരിശ്രമങ്ങളുടെ ഫലമായിട്ടു് ഇന്നു് അവരുടെ അധഃകൃതത്വമെല്ലാം ഏതാണ്ടു് തീർന്നുകഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടുണ്ടു്. അധഃസ്ഥിതത്വം തീർന്നുകഴിഞ്ഞിട്ടില്ല. ആ നിലയിൽ ഇപ്പോഴും അവരെ അധഃകൃതർ എന്നുതന്നെ വിളിക്കപ്പെടുന്നതു ശരിയായിരിക്കുമോ എന്നാണു് സംശയം. ഈ രാജ്യത്തു് ഇപ്പോഴും അധഃകൃതർ ഉണ്ടെന്നു ചിലർ വിചാരിക്കുന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ അതു് അബദ്ധമാണു്. രാഷ്ട്രീയമായ കാര്യങ്ങളെ സംബന്ധിച്ചിടത്തോളവും ഒരു ഒറ്റ അധഃകൃതൻപോലും ഇല്ലെന്നുള്ളതു് ഇവിടെ തെളിയിക്കുവാൻ സാധിക്കും. ഏതെങ്കിലുംതരത്തിലുള്ള നിയമങ്ങളും ഒരു വ്യക്തിയുടേയും സമുദായത്തിന്റേയും പുരോഗതിയെ തടയുന്നുണ്ടു് എന്നുണ്ടെങ്കിൽ ഈ രാ

*Spech not corrected by the Hon'ble Member.

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